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PHYSIGUNKUS

1. The German word which forms the subject of this paper occurs first in a Reformation pamphlet reprinted by Schade in the second volume of his *Satiren und Pasquille aus der Reformationszeit*. The pamphlet, which dates from 1520 and according to Schade represents Rhenish Franconian, according to Fischer (*Schwäb. Wb.*, II, 1525) possibly Swabian speech, is in dialogue form. One of the interlocutors says of the Pope (p. 133): ‘. . . wie man im die füesz müsz küssen und in haiszen den aller hailigisten. und etlich visegunklen sagen, er müg nichts unrechts thon, er müg nit sünden.’ Here *visegunkeln* means ‘charlatans of learning, men whose heads are full of false erudition which they use to mislead the people’—‘die Gelehrten, die Verkehrten.’

Another sixteenth-century source, the so-called *Zimmersche Chronik*, Swabian in origin, twice uses our word, though in a slightly different form, *visigunk*. The meaning also is here not quite the same: it seems to be that of ‘eccentric idiot.’ In one passage (III, 61, of Barack’s ed. in the *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*) we read: ‘Ain bruder hat er gehapt, grave Ludwig, der ist doch gar ain visigungk gewesen, von dessen abenteuerigen und kindtlichen sachen ain ganze legende mögte geschriben werden.’ Later on in the chronicle (IV, 3) one Bechtoldt von Rott is described as *ain rechter visigunk* and a piece of his queerness and stupidity is

related: egged on by some practical jokers, who tell him he may thus gain knighthood, he goes into the tent of the Emperor Charles the Fifth and stands there, silently staring about, until his liege lord, the Cardinal of Augsburg, is asked about him and explains the situation, whereupon the Emperor laughs and with a perfumed glove dubs him knight. The chronicler, however, comments: 'Ich het dem gauch ain gute spiszgarten über die lenden geben zu ain glicklichen anfang seiner ritterschaft.'

The next occurrence is in Fischart's *Geschichtklitterung* or German Gargantua. In the 'Drunken Litany' a preceptor, and to all appearance a medical preceptor, is asked (Alsleben's edition, p. 145): 'Domine Phisiguncke ist nicht ein gemeyne Regel, treimal ober Tisch getrunken sey das gesundest, mehr hab ich nit gelesen,' to which the doctor answers: 'Neyn Neyn, Marce fili, du hast den Cratippum nicht recht gehört, das Buch, so gelesen hast, ist falsch verkehrt. Im abschreiben ists versehen worden, drey für dreitzehen.'

Fischart's use of the word is in several respects interesting. It is used frankly as a mock Latinism in address to a learned man. It is spelled as though it were Greco-Latin and receives the Latin vocative ending.

Our tradition does not keep us waiting long for the corresponding nominative. Moscherosch's *Philander*, toward the end of the vision *Höllen-Kinder* (I, 377, of the second Strassburg edition of 1642) meets a philosophizing poet who revels in scholastic hair-splitting of the most nonsensical kind. When this poet fires at Philander a string of syllogisms, part German, part Latin, the hero answers: 'Ihr müszt warlich auff Erden ein nöthlicher Kund, vnnd Lächerlicher Fisigunckus gewest sein, weil jhr die Schnacken vnd Grillen auch bisz hieher behalten!' Later, near the beginning of *Hansz hienüber Gansz herüber* (II, 205, 206, of the second edition), a young student quarrels with a pedantic *Ertz-Schoristen und Academic*, of whom he speaks, to his face, as 'einem so hirn-schelligen Esel und Physikunckusz . . . bey dem man es doch in einem huy verderbet hätte, so bald mā auch in dem geringsten wörtlein oder Commate fehlete.' On the next page our word recurs, this time in the spelling *Fisigunckhusz*, which appears also when Moscherosch speaks, near the fortieth page of *Wider das Podagram* (Part 4, p. 45,

of the Leyden edition by Wyngarten, 1646¹) of the 'Astronomi vnd Kalenderschreiber, welche solche fantastereyen vnd wunderfisigunkische bossen in jhren Kalendern mit ein-mahlẽ vñ schreiben.' Thus the faculties of theology, medicine, law, humanities, and natural science are all represented in the ranks of the *Physigunci*.

Schmeller (*Bayer. Wb.*², I, 768) quotes for Bavarian a seventeenth-century song: 'Ey du gueter Füsigunges.'

Another seventeenth-century occurrence is known to me only from the Grimm *Dictionary* (s.v. *Fisigunkes*, *Kunkelfusen*): the Austrian Abele, in his *Gerichtshändel* (1668, I, 262 [or 226?]), is there said to have the sentence: 'haben nicht etliche physicunkes vermeint, dasz Epiphania Christi säugamm gewest sei?'

Here, as in Schmeller's song, the Latin nominative ending *-us* appears in the Germanized form *-es*, which is found also in many words in the modern dialects, as Hildebrand, *D.Wb.*, V, 1495, points out. The feeling for its origin is probably everywhere lost. Examples are Alsatian *Schlappes* 'fauler Mensch,' *Beches* 'Schuhmacher'; the source is to be seen in such Latinisms as *Wackes* 'loafer' from *L. vagus*; see Martin-Lienhart's *Dictionary* as well as the list, there referred to, by Pfaff in *PBB*, XV, 189.

Our word has kept this ending to the present time in Alsace, where *Fisikunkes*, according to Martin-Lienhart, is used mostly in the set expression *Du roter F.*, as 'Schimpfname' for red-headed people—obviously a much-narrowed word-meaning indicative of obsolescence.

Except for this limited use in Alsace, the word seems to survive only in Switzerland. In the canton of Appenzell, according to Staub-Tobler, the word *Fisigunggi* (with Swiss diminutive ending) is used, though but rarely, in such expressions as *en gölige Fisigunggi* 'ein seltsamer Querkopf.' Modified forms of the word, however, are widespread in Switzerland, but before we discuss them it will be well to inquire into the origin of *Physigunkus*.

2. As the Swiss *Idiotikon* and the rhythm of the songs attest, our word is stressed upon the third syllable. This places it in a class

¹ The incomplete copy of the second edition accessible to me (University of Illinois Library) lacks the last four of the fourteen authentic chapters, including the one here quoted; according to Martin-Lienhart, *Els. Wb.*, II, 937, the passage is to be found in II, 474, of the first Strassburg edition.

of words imperfectly understood: it will be the chief object of this paper to define the fundamental principle by which they are to be explained.

The general law of German word-accent is of course that of stress on the first syllable. Excepted are only the genuine verb-compounds, such as *gestehen*, *verstehen*, *überstehen*, and, secondarily, the verbal nouns corresponding to such compounds: *erteilen* has *Erteilung* beside older *Urteil*, *erlauben* *Erlaubnis*, beside *Urlaub*, and so on. All these forms, however, have always occupied a very distinct place in German speech-feeling; although they have multiplied, the analogy has not overstepped the above-mentioned bounds, and therefore, be it said at once, such forms as *Fisigunkes* cannot be explained as lying within the analogy of these words.

Apart from the verbal compounds, however, the German language has, in historical times, absorbed a great number of loan-words, chiefly from Latin and French, with accent on syllables other than the first, such as *Soldat*, *Student*, *studieren*, *spazieren*.

Now, as no phonetic law can be supposed to have produced the peculiar accentuation of words such as *Fisigunkes*, they must be analogic formations, and, as the compounds of the type *erlauben* *Erlaubnis*, *überstehen* are remote, there remains only one explanation: such words as *Fisigunkes* must be analogic formations for which foreign words with un-German accent have served as models.

This conclusion is confirmed by the meaning of our word: it is a joking word, a mock loan-word, a pseudo-Latinism. The early users were conscious of this and expressed it by the spellings with *visi-* and *physi-*.

J. Grimm, in the *Dictionary* (III, 1690) says of *Fisigunkus*: 'Wol entstellung eines romanischen worts, dessen erster theil *physio-*enthält, wie Abele zeigt; vielleicht nichts als der acc. von *physicus*, doch findet sich auch *fligunkes*.' Hildebrand (*D. Wb.*, V, 2661) says of Fischart's use: 'Offenbar ein Schulwitz,' and of Abele's: 'Deutlich *physici* in spöttischer Form.' Fischer's *Swabian Dictionary* says: '*Physikus* liegt nahe, aber *-gunkes* ist auch sonst ähnlich gebraucht.' Martin-Lienhart adopt Grimm's explanation, saying: 'Aus *Physicus* weitergebildet.' Staub-Tobler explain the word as a purely German compound, but refer also to the word

visierlich 'delicate, over-fine,' and mention Grimm's suggestion with the words: 'Wir müssen diese Deutung offen lassen, um so mehr, da auch bei uns *Fisikus*, in ähnlichem Sinn vorkommt' adding that the end of the distortion is probably based on some German word.

None of these authors explicitly undertakes to discuss the accentuation of the word; had they done so, they would not have questioned the foreign influence. Of the suggested explanations none satisfies the accentual conditions: *Physicus*, with its accusative, is accented on the first syllable, *visierlich* on the second; the type with *physio-* comes nearest. The genitive plural of *physicus*, *physicorum*, would come still nearer. A student's jesting nonce-word **physicunculus* is conceivable and may have been the immediate precursor of *Physigunkel*.

3. Latin words with unaccented initial *fisi-* are not uncommon in German usage. Unfortunately, the German dictionaries do not as a rule give loan-words—a gross violation of the principle that the description (as opposed to the history) of a language must follow the *Sprachgefühl* of its speakers and not the learned historical criteria of the investigator. One of the most pressing needs of German linguistics is a historical dictionary of loan-words, not to speak of an analysis of German Latinity, i.e., of Latin (and French) words and phrases which, though not actually adopted by the language, have as yet various times become current in German speech and writing as technical terms, citations, and ornaments. Nevertheless, one can with some certainty trace the existence in German of a number of Latin words with initial *fisi-*. They fall into two main groups.

a) We may look first at those from the stem of the participle *visus*. Their initial *v* was formerly in German usage pronounced *f* (by sound-substitution: G. *w* had then the semivowel value), as is shown by old spellings with *f*, by the absence of spellings with *w*, by such words as *Vers*, where standard German preserves an old pronunciation, and by the dialects, which frequently still have *f* for such Latin *v*.

In MHG. *visament(e)* means, in the words of Beneke's dictionary: 'visierung, modellierung; die eintheilung eines wappens und die beschreibung desselben'—*der wäpen visament, der wäfen visamente*. Lexer adds a passage from Laszberg's *Liedersaal* (I, 579), where

the word is spelled *fisiment* and is used in a mocking sense of letters of the alphabet embroidered on clothing, a fad, it seems, at one period of the decline of courtly life. The passage is worth quoting in full:

So wölt ich gerne fragen
 Das ir mich bewisten me
 Maneger trait dez a b c
 An jm ainen buchstaben
 Was die betütnust mügent haben
 Die sy tragent wundert mich.
 Sie sprachent war vmb mügs tu dich
 Vmb die selben fisiment
 Ez ist sicher ain getent
 Vnt ain betrügnust offenlich.

Here *fisiment* seems to have the connotation of 'silly frills.' We shall see later to what influence such a connotation may be due.

For MHG. *visitieren* Lexer gives only the Latin equivalent 'visitare'; but the noun of agent he tells us occurs in the fourteenth century for the inspector of a nunnery. In modern Swiss *visitiere*, *visidiere* means, according to Staub-Tobler, 'untersuchen,' *Visidatz*, masculine, is 'amtlicher Besuch (eines Mitgliedes) der kirchlichen Oberbehörde beim Pfarrer, zur Untersuchung seiner Amts- und (früher auch) Buchführung.' In Alsatian Martin-Lienhart give for *visitiere* 'ärztlich untersuchen, durchsuchen, jemandes Taschen und Kleider auf etwas Verdächtiges hin aussuchen': 'Herr Dokter, visitiere mi; Eim d Säck visitiere; D Schandarme han s ganz Hus durchgvisitiert; Si hän alles üsgvisitiert, awer si hän nix gfunde.' The Swabian dictionary of Fischer spells the word phonetically with initial *f*, giving *fisidiere* 'früher "besuchen," modern: von einmaliger oder periodischer Untersuchung (*Visitazion*) des Zustands einer öffentlichen Anstalt, Schule udgl. mit und ohne Objekt. Von da ins Privatleben übertragen, mehr oder weniger mit scherzhaft drohendem Ton. Einem faulen naschhaften Buben o. ä. *visitiert* man seinen Schulranzen, seine Taschen, usw.' So older *Fyssydatz* (*Fisitatz*), spelled later with *v* (*Vissedatz*), today replaced by *Visitazion* 'wie nhd., besonders die periodische *Visitazion* der Schulen durch einen *Visitor*.'

It is small wonder that the *Fisigunkes* is a busybody (cf. sec. 6, p. 137): he is a near relative of the *Visitor* or *Visitierer* who performs his *Visitaz*.

Of less importance is the use of *Visitur* for 'Ange-sicht' in the *Zimmer Chronicle*.

b) The influence of Latin *visi-* is, however, secondary in our word: its real source lies, as Grimm saw, in the Greco-Latin *physi-*. Words containing this element were not uncommon in the learned language of the Middle Ages; some, no doubt, were known to the common people. Wolfram uses *fisike* 'Naturkunde' (*Parz.* 481, 15 Lachm.²), as well as a word which fulfils our condition of accent on the third syllable, *fision* 'Kenner der Natur' (*Parz.* 453, 25 Lachm.²):

der selbe fisîōn
was geboren von Salmōn.

The L. genitive plural *physicorum* has been mentioned; one thinks also of the adjective *physicalis*. In the age of learned hocus-pocus, that is, in the early NHG. period, when *Physigunkus* and other facetious mock-Latinisms first occur in our texts, such words must have been heard frequently enough, perhaps more frequently than today.¹ Thus in Swabia *Fisikat* 'Amt oder Wohnung eines *Fisikus*, amtlich angestellten Arztes' and even *Oberamtsfisikat* are today obsolete. One says *Oberamtsarzt*; what his office is called is not clear.

Of less importance for us is MHG. *visami* 'Physiognomie.'

Our survey of loan-words beginning with unaccented *fisi-* would no doubt be much extended were it not for the exclusion from most German lexicography of foreign material. Even our brief survey has given us, however, enough material to show how a mock-Latinism of the form *Fisigunkes* could arise. We have, primarily, Latin *physicorum* and *physicalis* and the less relevant *physiologia*, *physiologus* (accented on penultima in old-fashioned pronunciation), *physion*, *physikat*; and possibly **physicunculus*, and secondarily *visiment* 'silly ornamentation,' *visitieren*, *Visitaz*, *Visitierer*, *Visitor*; less relevant are *Visitur* and *Visami* for 'face.' The second group

¹ As is well known, the puristic tendency has since then worked deeply, as the now quaint Latinisms and Gallicisms of bygone centuries show; one may recall the charming use of them for poetic effect in Storm's phantasy *Von Heut und Ehedem*.

has affected the meaning of our word, but it is to the first that it owes its origin. As the old spellings and the Latin nominative and vocative endings show, the earlier users of the word were still conscious of its pseudo-Latin character.

Our task is now to see how, on the basis of such loan-words, the precise form of *Fisigunkel*, *Fisigunk*, *Fisigunkus*, *Fisigunki*, was arrived at.

4. Whence came the second member *-gunkus*? Or, this being a Latinization, whence the *-gunkel* of the earliest occurrence?

The word-group of Gothic *gaggan*, German *ging*, *gegangen*, English *gang*, has produced in German a number of words with vowel-variation and with that intensive consonant-doubling which had its origin in a pre-Germanic assimilation of nasal suffixes. To follow this development would take us far afield; we may limit ourselves to the type *gunk-*. Swiss *gunkle* is 'baumeln, straucheln, wackeln . . . liederlich umherschlendern'; in Alsatian it is 'umherlaufen'; Swiss, *Gungg* 'träges, unhaushälterisches Weib'; Alsatian, *Gunkel*, 'Lump, Schnapssäufer, Säuferin,' *Gunkli* 'langsamer, schlaffer Mensch'; Swabian, *Gunkes* (with Latin ending) 'alter Mann, lendenlahmer Spielmann'; in Nassau (Kehrein), 'ein dummer, der pffiffig sein will'; in Hessian (von Pfister), 'Bezeichnung eines verschmitzten, in Wahrheit aber doch dummen Tropfes.'¹

It is this *Gunk* and *Gunkel* originally 'tramp, loafer,' then 'scheming but stupid knave,' which furnished the German ending for the mock-Latinism *Physigunkus*. The substratum, however, and immediate occasion for its creation, and the only explanation of its accent, are to be sought in the foreign words beginning with unaccented *fisi-*.

5. *Gunk*, though the oldest, is not, however, the only ending of German mock loan-words with *fisi-*. One finds here that multiplicity of forms which at first discourages the student and then rewards him with the realization of the endless variety, delicacy, and mobility of human speech.

While *Fisigunki* is rare in Switzerland, the form *Fisigügg*, *Fisigüggi*, *Fisigüggēs*, *Fisigūx*, or, with umlaut, *Fisigügg*, *Fisigügger*,

¹ Our vulgar *gink* 'ridiculous person,' northern British (*EDD*) *ginkie* 'giddy, frolicsome, tricky; a lighthearted girl' may represent the *u*-form, but the history of these words seems to be unknown.

is common and widespread in the meaning 'superkluger subtiler Kopf, Mensch, der alles erklügeln will, alles bis aufs kleinste durchstöbert, seltsame und verwirrte Vorstellungen hat, Halbgelehrter; eingebildeter sonderbarer Mensch, kleinlicher Pffikus.' Staub-Tobler cite an occurrence of this form from 1799. There is also the derived verb *fisigüggeln* 'den Pffikus spielen.' From an early nineteenth-century Alsatian source Martin-Lienhart give *Fisigüggens* 'Halbgelehrter, Mensch mit verworrenen Begriffen; Naseweiser, auch einer, der sich mit Kleinigkeiten abgibt, anscheinend geschäftig ist, sich bei Leuten durch geringfügige Dinge einschmeichelt.' This new formation of *Fisigunk* into *Fisiguk* is explained by the word *Gügger* 'Kukuk'—for the cuckoo, 'der gouch,' is a favorite name for a fool; Swiss, *en arme Gügger* is 'ein armer Schlucker' and *en füsiga Gügger* (the phrase perhaps suggested by our word) 'ein ausgemachter Pffikus.' *Gucklus ein gouch, stultus eyn dor*, says Brant (*Narrenschiff*, p. 5, Zarncke). Hence *Fisigügger*.

The origin of our entire word-group and its earlier position in the speech-feeling stand out clearly in a jest word quoted by Staub-Tobler from the *Second Helvetian Confession* of 1644, where mention is made of the doctrines of the *Monotheliter oder Monophysiguger*; by the latter term is meant the sect of the *Monophysiter*.

Gäuggel 'Geck, Narr' is another word of the cuckoo family; to it belongs, as Staub-Tobler recognize, the sporadic by-form *Fisigäuggel*.

6. The relationship of the *Fisigunkes* and the *Visitor*, the busybody inspector, appears in a form with the ending assimilated to *gucken*, in Swiss (*guggen*) 'neugierig oder heimlich blicken,' *Häfeligugger*, *Gugges* 'Paul Pry,' *Guggi* 'dummer Mensch'; for Swiss has also *Fisigugg*, *Fisiguggi*, *Fisigugger*, *Fisigux* 'dummer, ungeschickter, zugleich zudringlicher Mensch; Ausspäher, Spion, Schlaupkopff; der sich um Kleinigkeiten viel Mühe macht; engherziger Mensch, Spassvogel'; also the verb *fisiguggere*, *fisigüggeln* 'gucken, hervorschauen; schlau verstopfen nach etwas blicken, ausspähen.'

In passing we may mention a word with normal German accent which owes its existence to our group: *Fisigugg*, *Fisigugger*, with accent on the first syllable is in Swiss a less common word for 'vorwitziger und neugieriger Mensch, der sich in alles mischt; Ausspäher,

Spion, Schlaupf. Staub-Tobler rightly explain this word as a re-formation of *Fisigügger* into a compound with the first member, *Vīsi*, as used in the phrases *öppis im V. ha* 'etwas im Auge, heimliche Absicht darauf haben,' *im V. bhalte* (Swabian *in Visis behalten*) 'im Auge behalten,' for L. *in visu*.

7. Another distortion of *Fisigunk* is Swiss *Fisibutz*, given by Stalder as 'Benennung eines Halbgelehrten, eines Menschen von seltenen und verwirrten Vorstellungen.' The last part is here Swiss *Butz* 'vermummte Person; Narr; unordentlich gekleidete Person,' MHG. *butze* 'Kobold, Schreckgestalt, Klumpen.'

8. The idea of alchemy and magic that was connected with some of the learned words containing the element *physi-* may have prompted the creation of two verbs which occur in Alsace. *Fisimikre* is there 'etwas künstlich herstellen wollen, ohne es zu können.' The second part is denominative from the group *Micke*, *Mickele* 'kosende Bezeichnung für ein Füllen; Kaninchen; junges Rind; junge Ziege; junges Mädchen,' *Mickele* 'auch für kleine Kinder,' *Micker*, *Mickerle*, 'Zärtlichkeitsausdruck für kleine Lebewesen, als Kaninchen, Hund, Katze, Kälbchen, Füllen, aber vorzugsweise für Kinder, Schätzchen, Liebchen; kleines Bierglas'; so in Swiss *müggerig*, rarely with short vowel, 'gering, elend, armselig, kränzlich aussehend,' *Miggerli* 'kleines geringfügiges Ding, kleine Person.'

9. The second verb is Alsatian *fisenickere* 'lügen, aufschneiden, schwindeln.' In Swiss *us-niggele* is 'übertrieben auszieren, aus-schnörkeln,' and in Alsace *nicke* is 'bei einem Handel zäh sein, feilschen, markten,' *nickle* 'an etwas herumzerren; nörgeln, kleinlich etwas auszusetzen haben; ärgern, verdrieszen'; *Nicki* is 'a bargainer who tries to buy everything below price' and *Nickli* 'a stingy person.'¹

10. Woeste in his *Wb. d. westfäl. Ma.*, 187. 301, gives a word *fissennülle*, *visennülle* 'weibliche Scham.' The second part of this word is a regular feminine derivative of MHG. *nol* m. 'mons veneris,' cf. in modern dialects *nollen*, *nüllen* 'futuere,' *nülle* 'penis.' The region from which this word is given makes it probable, however,

¹ H. Schröder in his *Streckformen* explains these two verbs, with many other forms, as due to the use of unaccented infixes, e.g., *fisimicken*, *fisinicken* from *fisiken* (accent probably wrong), by infixes *-im-* and *-in-*. Instead of studying all German words with abnormal accentuation, Schröder first eliminated those which he knew were loan-words; when this wholly extraneous criterion had been applied, the mock loan-words were left high and dry, and only a mechanical explanation was possible.

that its prefixal *fisi-* is due to a different group of mock loan-words, which shall find mention below.

11. There remains a consideration which will bring us closer to the speech-feeling of those who produced and of those who adopted and spread the witticism of mocking learned piffers with the title *Physigunkus*: namely, the fact that *fisi-* seemed in earlier times and seems still in various parts of Germany a funny sound-group.

One has not to seek far for the reason. *Fiseln* is in German dialects one of the chief words for piddling, foolish activity, somewhat as *to fiddle* is in English. It is the denominative of *Fisel*, whose chief meanings are 'a slender branch, withy; penis (Wolfram, *Parz.* 112, 25); a fibre or fringe.' In Swiss, Alsatian, and Swabian *Fisel* has, variously, besides these meanings, the following: 'a carter's whip, a fiddlestick; any small and weak creature, human or animal; a boy, a fellow, a naughty child; an old woman'; *Pechfisel* is in Fischart and in modern Swabian 'the shoemaker,' who works with pitch, the *Beches* of modern Alsatian; Fischart's *Hundsfisel* is 'a coward or weakling,' own brother, no doubt, of the better-known *Hundsfott*. As far away as East Prussia *Fisel*, neuter, is (Frischbier) 'Kleinigkeit, Unbedeutendes,' masculine and feminine 'leicht beweglich hin und her fahrende, alberne Person.' The verb *fisele* is in Swiss: 'mit einem dünnen länglichen Körper, zum Beispiel mit einer Gerte, schnell hin und her fahren, mit einer Rute leicht berühren; zu sehr mit kleinlichen Sachen umgehen, z.B. mit einer Nadel zu feine Zieraten machen; fein und unordentlich schreiben, kritzeln; fein, leicht regnen,' *fisle*, a parallel form, is 'mit einem beweglichen, dünnen, länglichen (auch spitzen) Körper, besonders mit einer Rute oder Peitsche (*Fisle*) hin und her fahren, spielend oder schlagend (*an eim ume fisle*, of a doctor using a needle on his patient); sich (selbst) schnell hin und her bewegen, unstät und untätig, z.B. ums Haus herum—bei Weibspersonen sich einschmeichelnd; andern Personen durch lästige Nähe hinderlich sein; schnell, eifrig arbeiten—aber auch ohne Erfolg; unter dem Schein von Geschäftigkeit nichts tun; kurze, schnelle Schritte machen; mit zu groszer Genauigkeit an etwas arbeiten, zu viel Zierereien machen; zu fein, undeutlich schreiben, kritzeln; auf einem Saiteninstrument stümperhaft spielen; Fasern zupfen; mit der Rute züchtigen, schlagen und

jagen; fein (staubig) regnen; flüstern; Nüsse enthülsen und aufknacken; brunzen (von Hühnern); futuere'; the agent is *Fiseler*, the adjective *fiselig*. In Alsatian only one of the specialized meanings survives: *fisle* is 'to play at cards in a piddling, overcalculating manner, afraid of the slightest loss.' In Swabian *fisele* is 'fein und unleserlich schreiben; genau durchsehen; fein regnen; sich begatten; Liebkosungen machen; mit dem *Fisel* schlagen,' and the agent, *Fiseler*, is also 'wer gerne im Hause nach Leckereien sucht, wer den Weibern nachläuft,' *der Fisele* is explained as 'allzu pünktlicher Mensch.' For Bavarian Schmeller analyzes the meanings as follows: 'to make small movements (1) with one's fingers, (2) with mouth or teeth, (3) in general,' and quotes various examples.

Swiss has also *Fisi* m. 'naseweiser Herr, der sich in die geringsten Weibergeschäfte mengt; wunderlicher Mensch,' f. 'Lärm, Aufsehen, Wesen, Treiben,' *Fisifäusi* 'Geck, verzärtelter Knabe,' an iterative whose second member is *Fäusi* 'Schönherren, petit-maitre, Schwänzler, Jungfernjäger.' Staub-Tobler advance the view that *Fisi* is merely abstracted from *Fisifäusi*; this seems probable, and *Fisiggug*, etc., also may have figured in the abstraction. In any case, *Fisi* is younger and far less widespread than the forms with *l*-suffix.¹

It is the *Fisel* and the *Fisler* and the verb *fiseln* which have given a ridiculous connotation to the group *fisi-* in older and southwestern German. The earliest example of this connotation is perhaps the use of *visament* as 'silly frippery' (instead of 'heraldic blazonry') which has been quoted (sec. 3); the spelling is there with *f* instead of the Latin-French *v*.

Visasche and *Visier* are in Swabian used for 'face,' but in mockery and contemptuously.

In the same way *Fisel* and *fiselen* may have distorted the value of the verb *visieren* (from L. *visare*, Fr. *viser*), which was once a technical term for testing wine with a rod, 'Wein abeichen.' For it is possibly to the meaning of the like-sounding German words that we owe the use of *visieren* in the following passage of the Fastnachtspiel

¹ It is a mistake, therefore, of Staub-Tobler when, in another passage (1, 1079), they suggest that our old and widespread *Fisigunki* is merely a German compound whose first member is this *Fisi-* quite aside from the impossibility of thus accounting for the accentuation.

Des Baur'n Flaischgaden Vasnacht (Bibl. d. Lit. Ver. in Stuttgart, XXIX, 712):

Der eim seim weib geet nach hofiern
 Und meint, er wol sie pas visieren,
 Den er sie selber hat geeicht,
 Das sie mit freuntschaft von im weicht,
 Den schol man beschemen vor allen frauen
 Und schol im sein visierruten ab hauen.

Similarly, the adjective *visierlich*, current since the sixteenth century in the sense of 'delicate, neat, elegant,' has in modern Swiss also the meaning 'drollig, von Menschen, welche sonderbare Ideen im Kopfe haben.'

Among the loan-words of the group *physi-*, *Physiker* has suffered plainly from the suggestion of *Fiseler*: in the more original sense of 'Stadtarzt' it is obsolete in Switzerland, but it still means 'eingebildeter Schlaukopf, Pfiffikus, der besondere Ideen im Kopfe hat; der andere durch List übervorteilen zu können meint, während er selbst von ihnen verspottet wird.' Staub-Tobler suggest that this meaning represents a different word from the old *Physiker*, namely, the word *Fisi* with *-iker* from family names (which in turn are derived from place names in *-ikon*). They modify this statement, however, by the second and better thought: 'Immerhin müssen Fremdwörter wie *Hektiker*, *Physiker* in weiteren Kreisen irgendwie bekannt, wenn auch nur halb verstanden gewesen sein, um jene Umdeutungen zu veranlassen.'

Physikus is in Swiss 'naturforscher, Grübler,' in Alsatian 'pffiffiger Mensch.'

In Alsatian *Fisik* is not only 'Zauberei, Schwarzkunst'—it was through magic and fortune-telling that many a Latin word became familiar to the people—but also 'Grimassen, Dummheiten, Unsinn, Späße; Turnen': 'Loss a loife, r macht nix as Fisik; Mach mr ke Fisik.' *Der Fisik* was the nickname of a Strassburg wit around 1850; *fisike* is 'eifertig und nachlassig arbeiten, eigentlich hexen': *Dis hes du awer gfisikt!*

So it comes that in Switzerland people named *Isidor* must stand being called also *Fisidor*. The *Fidibus* with which one lights one's pipe is in Zürich also a *Fisibus*. The *Fiselier* or *Füselier* (*fusileer*)

'soldier of the line,' a term now obsolescent, was in mockery called also *Füsler*.

12. There is even more direct evidence that the *Fisigunkes* was not only a *Physikus* but also a *Fiseler*: he is sometimes called *Fiselgunkes*. Grimm (*Wb.*) quotes a seventeenth-century song, where some nonsensical proposals conclude with the refrain-like line:

Sein wir nit fiselgunges?

and Schmeller (*Bayer. Wb.*², I, 768. 1679) quotes a Bavarian song—apparently the last refuge in this dialect of our word:

Fislgunkes, fislgunkes, wird d Hochzeit bal wern?

This form brings us to a number of instances in which the initial syllables of *Physigunkus* are distorted or replaced.

13. As a variant of the foregoing song Schmeller quotes (I, 924):

Filigunkes, filigunkes, wird Houzet bal werd'n?

It is usually fruitless to delve too far into the sources of such sporadic and occasional formations, which may be due to any one or more of an almost endless series of possible analogies; in this instance, however, the Swiss usage, for which *Filigux* is defined as 'kleiner Knirps, z.B. von einem Täufeling' makes it almost certain that the *fili-* which here takes the place of *fisi-* is a reminiscence of Latin *filius* and its case-forms and derivatives (e.g. *filiólus*), familiar enough to the common people, especially in Catholic districts. It is to be noted that the accent of the Latin words need not here conform to that of the German product, for *Filigunkes* may rest in this respect entirely on its prototype *Fisigunkes*.

14. Swiss has also *Fidigügger* 'dummer, ungeschickter, zugleich zudringlicher Mensch,' *fidigūxe* 'ausspähen.' Whether we have here a form of L. *fides*, or the influence of MHG. and Swiss *fideren* 'to exaggerate, fib, lie,' or of MHG. *videlen*, G. *fiedeln* (in Swiss pronunciation the vowel is not lengthened) 'to play on the fiddle' and 'to fiddle around,' or if, perhaps, more than one of these influences has come into play, would be hard to determine.

It was surely the *fiddle* and the analogy of Latin words which underlay the creation of such nonsense refrains as the following from Swabia (Fischer):

Fideritz und fideratz
Und kei Fink ist kei Spatz,

or:

Und der Kesslerpeter
 Heb de Buckelheter,
 Fidiridum fidiridum dö fidirö,
 Und der Sattler App
 Springt de Hasetrapp,
 Fidiridum fidirö.

Similar nonsense refrains from Switzerland (Staub-Tobler, I, 681) are *Fidirix und Fidirax* and *Fiderungunggänseli*. *Fidigunkunk* is given by Fischer as 'liedereinleitung; Clarinette'; Stieler (*Sprachschatz*, 490) has, *da gings Fidelumpump* 'ibi sonabant pandurae,' and Grimm (*Wb.* III, 1626) finds the word so used in a 'fliegendes Blatt' of 1620.

15. We come now to two formations which are descendants of *Fisigunkes*, though perhaps a few generations removed. In Bavarian *Britschigunkal* n. equals *Britschen* f.; G. Britze 'feminal'; there is also a verb *britschigâgaln* 'beschlafen.'

16. In Swabian *Spirigunkes*, *Spirigukes* is given by v. Schmid as 'naseweiser, spitzfindiger Mensch'; *spirig* is 'unruhig, eigensinnig, mutwillig' (v. Schmid, Schmeller).

Similarly in Bavarian *Spirifankel* (accent ?) is 'mutwilliger Junge' and also, like the simple *Fankel*, a jesting name for 'the Devil'; a formation which was no doubt suggested by the normal German compound *Spadifankel*, *Sparifankel* 'jack of spades; bad boy.'

17. We have completed our examination of *Physigunkus* and its followers, and may say a few words about another set of German words, at home in the north of Germany, which also begin with unaccented *fisi*-.

The dictionaries quote from a number of sixteenth-century sources, mostly northern and central, a word *Visepatent*, *Visepatenten*. Waldis, *Aesopus* (227 b 27=4, 3, 76 Kurz) has:

Der Luther sagt und sein Scribenten,
 Die Geistlichkeit sey Visipatenten,
 Sey gar unnütz und nictes werd
 Vergebens Gott damit wirdt geehrt.

The word here seems to mean 'nonsense, flimflam.'

Kirchhof, *Wendunmut* (48a Österley), speaking of common soldiers who spend all their money on fine clothes, says:

Auch hochmüt on gewisse rennt
 Ist ein lauter fisipotent
 Und nimpt, ehs mancher meint, ein end.

In the shrovetide play *Claus Bur* the word is said to occur twice in a similar use: 'So is min pastorie visepetent, unde mach pipen sniden gan' and 'ere tüchnisse sint nene visepetent' (quoted by J. Grimm, *GGA*, 1850, 763).

Schiller-Lübben give two passages from the Soest *Daniel* of 1534:

ich komme to ju, herr Simon van Gent,
wente ghy synt der predicanten vispetent.

In the second passage the word is used in the same way, but is spelled *vysepetent*.

J. Grimm (*GGA*, 1850, 764) saw in *Visepetent* a popular contraction of *Vicesuperintendent*, an explanation which his successors have not adopted; nor does even Grimm's advocacy suffice to make it probable. Schiller-Lübben confine themselves to the suggestion that a misunderstood, or, as is often the case, a corrupted foreign word probably underlies the term. The word appears repeatedly in the sixteenth century and then suddenly disappears, apparently within a hundred years, in favor of a more modern form, *Fisimatenten*. This suggests that we have to do with a passing colloquialism, perhaps the individual creation of some witty fellow, evanescent because not sufficiently adapted to the analogies of the language, and inconsistently used because not fully understood.

Visepetenten is probably nothing more or less than a take-off on the Latin phrase *visae patentes* 'official papers duly inspected.' As DuCange, and, for that matter, the modern English *patent* and German *Patent* show, the term *litterae patentes* was in official language often abbreviated to *patentes* or to barbarous forms such as *patentae*; *visus* was the technical term for 'inspected, passed'—as the general European habit is still to speak of a passport being *visé-ed* (*visiert*).¹ *Visepetenten*, therefore, originally represented in the mind of the common man the quirks and quiddities of official jargon and the inspector of patents, the bureaucrat, and then came to be used in such senses as 'piffle, frippery, nonsense.'

¹ Quite by chance I find in a recent article by my colleague, Dr. Nordmeyer, on the Saxon press censorship in the early nineteenth century (*JEGP*, XV, 243) the following sentence: 'Es geschah dies *per patentum*, ein Schriftstück, dem noch immer sämtliche Leipziger Kommissionäre . . . ihr Visum zu geben hatten.' Dr. Nordmeyer informs me that these were the regular technical terms.

18. The widespread modern form of the word is *Fisematenten*. Woeste, *Wb.*, 300, quotes from a chronicle (dated 1499, according to the same author in *Korrespbl. f. ndd. Sprf.*, I, 46): 'it is ein vise-runge und ein visimetent,' and this oldest occurrence suggests the cause of the substitution of *m* for *p* (*Fisimatent* for *Fisipatent*): namely, the word *visament*, *fisiment* 'ornament'—an influence which Hildebrand recognized, when he explained *Fisimatenten* in the preface to Albrecht's *Die Leipziger Mundart* as 'a jesting and mocking distortion of the Latin form' of the heraldic term *fisiment*. The added syllable, however, and the shifted accent can be understood only under our supposition that *Fisipatent* served as model for the distortion.

To be sure, the form with *m* once, in Woeste's chronicle, occurs earlier than the form with *p*; it was, however (as the later history shows), so natural a modification that we may well expect the two forms to appear in our documents almost simultaneously, or, as seems to be the case, with the younger form a few years ahead of the more original. For a century the *p*-form keeps its supremacy, then the *m*-form overcomes it.¹

As to the use of *Fisimatenten* or *Fisimatentchen*, it has in all parts of Germany the meaning of 'Unsinn, Flausen, Künsteleien, Ausflüchte'; 'Mach mir keine Fisimatenten (vor).' Fischer quotes from H. Kurz the spelling *Physimathenten* and the definition: 'Dies ist eine ländlich-sittliche Redensart, die man anwendet, wenn sich jemand ziert, etwas zu genießen, was ihm nun doch einmal vorgesetzt ist.'

19. Of course there are a number of by-forms. Swabian has *Fisimatenke*; *-nk-* for *-nt-* is, however, a regular phonetic development in some districts in Swabia.

20. The Swabian *Genke* (for which Fischer gives *Günke* as transcription into standard German), meaning 'faule Weibsperson, liederliche Weibsperson, faule Dirne,' has produced *Fisimagenke* in the same sense as *Fisimatente*.

21. Swiss has *Fisifatente* 'Flitter, Firlefanz an weiblichen Kleidern,' where Staub-Tobler explain the second *f* as reduplicative; that

¹ Woeste, *Korrespbl.*, I, 46, and with him Kleinpaul, *Das Fremdwort im Deutschen*, p. 47, think that also the obsolete Italian *fisima* 'capriccio, ghiribizzo' has helped to produce *Fisimatenten*; they give no instances of the use of the Italian word in German and do not account for the accent.

is, our form is an approach to the iterative type *Fise-fase*, which occurs variously in German, though not given for modern Swiss.

22. The first part of *Fisimatenten* has been distorted through the influence of *fiseln* in the Swabian *Fislematantes*, with meaning unchanged.

23. Similarly *Fizematenterle* in Swabian owes its initial form to the word *fitze* 'mit der Spitze einer Peitsche einen leichten Schlag geben; "Seitenhiebe" austeilten; reizen; betrügen; stolzieren, hoffärtig tun, Staat machen'; *Fitzer* 'vain person, dude.'

If the form *Fittematentchen*, which Albrecht gives as Low German, is genuine, it contains an otherwise unknown LG. (or more probably hyper-LG.) form of this word.

24. Swiss *Fisperementli* is correctly explained by Staub-Tobler as due to the influence of *fispere* 'to wriggle, to move about hastily and aimlessly.'

25. It is not surprising when, after all this, we find German words with an almost meaningless, vaguely depreciatory *fise-* prefixed. This is probably the character of the Westfalian *fisenülle* already mentioned (sec. 10). It appears also in a few of the many Swiss popular-etymologic forms of the name of the violet, which are due, as Staub-Tobler suggest, to a conception of the word *Viöle*, *Viöle* as a kind of compound; so, *Visenöndli* and *Viserenöndli* 'Viola odorata' and *Visenönli* 'Viola canina.'

26. Our explanation, then, of *Fisigunkes* and *Fisimatenten* and their followers is that they are distortions—that is, adaptations—of foreign words which preserve a foreign accentuation. Some, like *Fisipatent*, are scarcely more than loan-words facetiously misused, others, such as *Fisigunk*, have been half Germanized, and still others, finally, like *Britschigunkel*, have been completely metamorphosed and retain no trace of foreign origin except the un-German accent. A very probable, though, as it happens, undocumented **Fiselgunk* (for *Fiselgunkes*, sec. 12) differs from a normal German compound, such as *Faselhans*, only in accent.

It is plain that this opens the way for analogic spread in German compounds of foreign accentuation conveying a mocking, pseudo-learned tone—or even of foreign accentuation merely suggested by the form of a no longer clearly understood native formation. So

Swiss *Gal-löri*, *Galöri* 'silly fool' is spoken also with accent on the second syllable. Here belongs also, I think, *Schlaraffe*, with accent on the second syllable, for older *slür-affe*; the land of Cockaigne, *Schlaraffenland*, is a distant country and foreign.

Not only in compounds, but quite generally, the parallel occurrence of loan-words with foreign and with assimilative German accentuation may lead to the creation of variants with foreign accentuation from purely native words. Such doublets as *Kaffée*: *Kaffee*, *Mustk*: *Musik*, *Doktór* (so accented, e.g., by Murner *Narrenbeschwörung*, III, 75 Spanier): *Doktor*, *Latérne*: *Lattere*, **Badó* (Fr. *badaud*): *Badi*, *Badde* cause pronunciations like *Abórt* (for *Ab-ort*). Such accentuation is favored if the word has an unusual or foreign-sounding structure: *Holunder*, *Wacholder*, *Forelle*, *Hermelin*, *Hornisse*; these are discussed by Wilmanns, *D. Gr.*, I², 395, and H. Schröder, *PBB*, XXXII, 120 ff., the latter author giving tentative lists of foreign models (e.g., *Kapelle*, *Sardelle*, etc., for *Forelle*) which may have brought about the irregular accentuation—but these models could be identified with certainty only if we had knowledge of the progress of such loan-words in German.¹

The types, then, of German words with foreign accentuation exhibit great diversity; even if we had a complete treatment of the foreign element in German, their full discussion would demand a large volume. A very few examples will, however, illustrate the different tendencies.

27. One group has been fully recognized: German words with accented foreign suffixes. Paul, *Prinzipien*⁴, 399 f., mentions *Bäckeri*, *Gerberei*, *Druckerei*, etc., with the suffix of *Abtei*; *hofieren*, *buchstabieren*, etc., with that of *korrigieren*. In these the emotional tone is indifferent; most of the following retain the flavor of incongruity: *Takelage*, *Kledage*, *Bommelage*, with the suffix of *Bagage* (Paul, *loc. cit.*); *Lappalien* (Wilmanns, *loc. cit.*), *Schmieralien* (Wood, *MP*, IX, 177), with that of *Materialien*; *Faselant*, with that of *Musikant*. German words with accented *-üse* are imitations of Romance words with L. *-ōsa* (Fr. *-euse*), such as in MHG. (Kassewitz, *Die fr. Wörter im Mhd.* [Strassburg, 1890], 28) *Orgeluse* (Wolfram) and

¹ In the case of *lebendig* such forms as *verständlich* (Schröder, *loc. cit.*) may for once have exerted influence beyond their usually circumscribed domain.

vintuse (also modern Swiss, from Fr. *ventouse*, dialectal in origin). Such imitations are: MLG. *in de rabuse geven* 'to throw something to be scrambled for,' NHG. *Rapuse* (Luther), from G. d. *rappen* 'hastig nach etwas greifen, raffén, zwacken, rauben' (cf. Norw. d. *rabba*). The words *Ruse* 'Geräusch, Zank,' *Rusebuse*, *Rusemuse* 'grosze Verwirrung' (Schröder, *Streckformen*, 70) may have favored the formation, but its accent is due to the foreign suffix. So Swiss *Flangguse:Flangg* 'slatternly woman,' *Flangguse:Flangge* 'Ohrfeige,' *Flantuse:Flänte* 'id.' Latin *-ōne(m)* (e.g., MHG. *barün, garzün*, Kassewitz, 27) appears in Swiss *Flagune* 'unstäte Frau,' from the group of *flackern*, and in *Joggeluner* 'Spott- und Scheltname, im Allg. gleichbedeutend mit *Joggel* ["awkward, silly, foolish person"]'. Scherzname für Jmd., der im Irrtum befangen ist; gemeiner, roher, auffahrender, zorniger, launenhafter, leichtfertiger Mensch; Spitzname auf Sektierer, dann auf Kopfhänger, politische Reaktionäre überhaupt.' To this definition Staub-Tobler add the note: 'Vielleicht als Analogiebildung nach *Draguner*; viell. aber mochte die rom. vergröbernde End. *-one* unsern Söldnern in italienischen Diensten so geläufig werden, dass sie sie auch an einheimische Wurzeln anhängten und dabei nach den Nom. ag. auf *-er* erweiterten.'

As occasional jests such formations are frequent. Brandt's *Narrenschiff* is bound *Gen Narragonien* (Zarncke, 1); Murner, *Narrenbeschwörung*, VI, 166 (Spanier), gives the formula:

So mach dir selber ein latinum:
Mistelinum gebelinum!

So, with Polish suffixes, East Prussian (Frischbier) *Dwatschkowski* 'Dummkopf': *dwatschen* 'schwätzen, quatschen,' *Kodderinski* 'zerlumpter Mensch'; *Kodder* 'Lumpen, zerrissenes Kleid,' *Schissmagratzki* (contains also Pol. *mokry* 'wet'). Heine has two Poles *Krapülinski* (Fr. *crapule*) and *Waaschlappski*.¹

As linguistic students have always been familiar with the use of suffixes, these formations have never caused much difficulty.

28. In other cases a foreign word appears with some slight distortion which leaves it recognizable as a blend, the foreign accent being retained. Of the large collection of *Iteratives*, *Blends*, and

¹ Here belong, of course, with normalized accent, such E. formations as *eatable*, *drinkable*, and the facetious *bumptious*, *scrumptious*.

'*Streckformen*' made by Professor Wood (*MP*, IX, 157 ff.) the following have in this way come to show foreign accent: *E. canoodle* (canoe), *cussnation* (damnation), *discombobbelate*, *discomfuffle*, *discomfuddle* (*discompse*), *drummure* (*demure*), *dumbfound* (*confound*), *needcessity* (*necessity*), *plumpendicular* (*perpendicular*), *pupmatic* (*dogmatic*), *rambust* (*robust*), *roaratorio* (*oratorio*), *screwmatics* (*rheumatics*), *yellocution* (*elocution*), *coronotions* (*coronation*), *refereaders* (*referee*), G. Karfunkel (*Karbunkel*).

A wit in the Munich *Jugend* (No. 7, 1912) has a plebeian talk about *Bazidrizier* (instead of *Badrizier*, *Patrizier*): *Bazi* is dialectal for 'fool.'

So *Laterne* is distorted into *Latüchte* (*Lüchte*), *Latäusche* (*Läusche*), *Latattere* (*Lattere*), as explained by Hoffmann-Krayer, *AfdA*, XXXII, 2; Wood, *op. cit.*, 183.

29. In other cases the foreign element is not so obvious, but can often be found even with our incomplete data.¹

Swiss *Badaulte* 'dumme Person,' Als. *Badaudel* 'Halbnarr' (Wood, 179) are sporadic words correctly referred by Staub-Tobler to Fr. *badaud* 'Maulaffe' (It. Rhaeto-Rom. *baderla* 'einfältiges Ding, Schwätzerin'; Rhaeto-Rom. *baderlunza* 'plaudertasche'; It. *badalona* 'plumpes, einfältiges Weib'). The currency of *badaud* in Alemannic territory is attested by the Germanized forms Swiss *Badi*, Als. *Badel*, *Badli*, Swab. *Badde*. It is clearly to *badaud* that the German forms owe their accentuation. The adaptation of *Badó* to *Badaúdel* is intelligible when we find that the German dialects in question have in similar meaning such words as *Daudel*, *Baudel*, *Gaudel*, *Laudel*: Swiss *Baudi* 'Töpel'; *Braudli* 'Schwätzer, Plauderer'; Als. *Daudel*, *Däudel* 'geistig beschränkter Mensch'; Swiss *Flaute*, *Fläuti* 'putzsüchtiges Weib,' *Flaudere* 'herumschweifendes, leichtfertiges Weib'; *Fläuderi* 'leichtfertiges Mädchen'; *Gaudeli*, Als. *Gaudel* 'Spasmacher, kindisch lustiger Mensch'; Swiss *Gäuteri* from *gäutere* 'sich müszig herumtreiben'; Als. *Garit*, *Garüti* 'dumme Weibsperson, einfältiges Mädchen'; Swiss *Haudle* 'stürmisch einherfahrende, nachlässig gekleidete Weibsperson';

¹ Professor Wood (*op. cit.*, 178) explains the accent of these as a native one peculiar to certain iteratives and resultant blends; Schröder, *Streckformen*, as due to the insertion of unaccented infixes; some have spoken of unaccented prefixes (e.g., Woeste, *s.v. Kabacke*), and others of accented suffixes (e.g., Hoffmann-Krayer, *AfdA*, XXXII, 2).

Laudele 'Schwätzerin'; *Maude* 'gleichgültiges, unordentliches Weib'; *Maudeli* 'kurzes, dickes unordentliches Mädchen'; *Mauder*, *Maudi* 'fette, dicke Person'; Als. *Schaute*, *Schautel*, *Schautele* 'Verrückter, Narr, Possenreißer'; *Schwäuderi* 'lustiger Schwätzer'; Swiss *Tschaudi* 'Einfaltspinsel'; *Tschäudeli*, *Tschaute* 'gute, einfältige Weibsperson' (Stalder); Als. *Tschäudel* 'Tölpel, dummer, unbeholfener Mensch.'

On *Badó* rests also Als. (Strassburg) *Badutscherle*, *Küchebadutscherle* 'einfältige Person.' It is due to the following Als. words: *Dutscherle* 'einfältiges Frauenzimmer'; *Butscher* 'Draufschläger, Schimpfname für einen ungeschickten'; *Brutsch* 'dickes Kind'; *Futsch* 'unordentliches Mädchen, Weib'; *Hutscherle* 'weibliche, schlecht entwickelte, im Wachstum zurückgebliebene Person'; *klutschig* 'unbeholfen'; *Knutscher* 'Bäcker' from *knutsche* 'drücken'; *lutsche* 'faul herumgehen'; *Mutschele* 'unbeholfenes, unordentliches Frauenzimmer'; *Pfutscher* 'Spottname für Fischer' from *pfutsche* 'spritzen, im Wasser hantieren'; *Rutschebutschel* 'Kosewort für ein junges Mädchen'; *Trutschele* 'dummes, unbeholfenes Frauenzimmer'; *Wutschel* 'ein älteres Mädchen, das auffallend klein geblieben ist; ältere Person.' Similarly Als. *Anebadätscherle* as a scoffing name for Anabaptists.

To the same group belongs Swiss *Baduntle* 'plumpe fette Weibsperson,' due to: *Guntle* 'Adelgunde'; *Chlunt*, *Chlunte*, *Chlüntli* 'liederliches Mädchen'; *Buntle*, *Puntle* 'kleine dicke Weibsperson'; *Tuntle* 'id.' (Staub-Tobler, 4, 1400), *Duntel*, *Duntle*, *Dunti* 'alberne ungeschickte Weibsperson; ein wegen Fette schwerfälliges Weibsbild' (Stalder).

Another adaptation of *Bado* is Swiss *Badölich* 'dummer Kerl,' modeled after: *Boli*, *Böli* 'Mensch, der alles rauh ergreift, polternd macht, unsanft herabsetzt; Polterer, glotzender, dummer Kerl'; *bolig* 'dumm'; *Göli* 'lärmender Narr'; *Löli* 'stiller Narr'; *Noli* 'kurzer, dicker, dummer Mensch'; *Butze-nöli* 'Schreckgespenst.'

Further, Als. *Badederle* 'Person, die nichts ausrichtet'; *Mederle* 'Koseform des männl. Vornamens Medardus'; *Peterle auf allen Suppen* 'ein Mensch, der sich überall einmischt.'

The distortion of foreign words by means of endings that are themselves foreign is not uncommon. It appears in Swiss *Badute*

'plumpe, fette Weibsperson' (the Als. *Badute*, pl., 'Frauen, die alle acht Tage zur Beichte gehen' may be a different word): this is *Badó*, amplified by means of a suffix which is itself foreign, if I am not mistaken in identifying it with the *-ude* used in deriving the feminine of family names in some Swiss-French dialects, e.g., *Metsu* 'Michaud,' f. *Metsude* (Fankhauser, *Das Patois von Val D'Illiez* [Halle, 1911], 104).

Leaving the *Badó*-group, we may look at the similar one of Fr. *bagage*, which in Swiss (*Bagaschi*) means not only 'luggage, pack,' but also 'rabble' (cf. E. *baggage* as scornful epithet for girls and women). It is distorted to *Bagauschi* 'stupid worthless person' on the model of *Bauschi* 'worthless girl or woman'; *gauschele* 'to juggle, to dally.' Similarly *Bagäuggel* 'cut-up' is adapted to *Gäuggel* 'cut-up, silly person.' *Bagabauschi* is probably due to the interference of *Bagatelle*.

Given the pairs *Badaudel*:*Daudel*, *Badutscherle*:*Dutscherle*, *Baduntle*:*Duntle*, *Bagäuggel*:*Gäuggel*, it is not surprising that the sound-group of initial unaccented *ba-* has acquired some slight morphologic vitality, conveying a jestingly depreciatory meaning. Thus have arisen forms like Swiss *Balali*, *Balari*, *Baläutschi*, *Balöli*, *Palöri* 'Tölpel, Dummkopf,' from *Lali*, *Lari*, *Läutschi*, *Löli*, *Löri* in the same meaning.¹

30. Not very different is the history of unaccented *fa-* in Swiss. The Latin word *vagieren* 'wander about, stroll, loaf' (cf. also *Vagabund*) is generally used in German. As Staub-Tobler suggest, Swiss *vagöle* in the same sense is an adaptation due to Swiss *göle* 'cut up, wander about, stand gaping' (cf. also *löle* 'play the fool').

Another source of unaccented *fa-* may possibly be older Swiss *Fakiner* 'Lastträger,' from It. *facchino*.

Plainly mock loan-words are: *Fagäuggel* 'Possenreiszer, einfältiger Mensch,' beside *Gäuggel* and *Bagäuggel* above; *Fagäugge*, *Fagügge*, *Fagose*, *Fagune*, pl. 'komische Gaberden, Possen'; the first of these goes with *Gäuggel*, the second with *Güggi* 'Schreihals,' the other two exhibit Romance suffixes; *Fagüngger* 'erbärmlicher

¹ As the shorter words all begin with *l*, one may suspect that the impetus for the *ba*-forms was given by some foreign word beginning with *bal-*, unaccented, but I have not succeeded in finding such a loan-word.

Mensch,' beside *Güngger*, *Günggel* in the same sense (as pointed out by Staub-Tobler).

Beside *fortune mache* 'sein Glück versuchen (z.B. bei einem Wahrsager),' there exists also the same expression in the sense of 'Grimassen machen'; Staub-Tobler explain this meaning as derived from the other, the middle term being the antics of the fortune-teller; perhaps, however, the second meaning is due rather to the influence of *Fagägge*, etc.: for beside *fortune mache* we find also *fatune* and *fadune mache* 'Grimassen schneiden.'

31. A large and very interesting group of the same kind is that with initial unaccented *ka-*, *kar-*, *ker-*, *kam-*, *kom-*, etc. (cf. Wood, 189 ff.). It is assuredly the offspring of Romance loan-words: *ca-*, *car-*, *con-*, *com-*, *cor-*, etc., are favorite Romance word-initials. As to loan-words in German, only a historical study (and a similar investigation into the mock loan-words based upon them) would give satisfactory information. A suggestion of the state of affairs may be gained from the present standard speech, in which such words, for instance, as the following with *kar-* are numerous and of commonest employment: *Karaffe*, *Charakter*, *Karat*, *Karbol*, *Karbonade*, *Karbunkel*, *Kardinal*, *karessieren*, *kariieren*, *Kariole*, *Karmin*, *Karneval* (also with accent on first syllable), *Karosse*, *Karotte*, *Kartell*, *Karton*, *Karussell*, not to mention *Kartoffel*, whose accent at least is still foreign.

As an illustration of the history of these words we may take the subgroup of *Kabine*.

Whatever the ultimate origin of this word, it is in German plainly a loan from French: it occurs in the forms *Kabine* and *Kabane* since the seventeenth century, while in English *cabin*, *caban* goes back to Langland and in Romance territory *capanna* occurs in the sense of 'little hut' among Isidor of Seville's etymologies.

The rather similar *Kajüte* is less clear. It appears in Low German as early as 1407, with the meaning 'ship's cabin.' In French it occurs as *chahute* 'little hut' in a MS of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, in 1391 as *quahute* (Godefroy). These dates, the meanings (general in French, specialized and maritime in German), and the accentuation, all favor the view taken by Meyer-Lübke and by Falk and Torp, that the word is French in origin; the latter

authors suggest, I think rightly, that the French form is a blend of *cabane* and the loan-word (from Germanic) *hütte* 'hut.' Theodor Braune, *Zs. f. r. Phil.*, XVIII, 521, thinks that the word is Germanic, a compound of *kaje* 'quay' and *hütte*: this does not explain the accent, though it might be that a Germanic **káj-hütte* went into French and was then borrowed back as *kajúte*.

Kabuse appears since the fourteenth century as 'hut, sty, ship's cabin, sleeping-cubby.' In the first occurrence (see Schiller-Lübben) it is read *kabhusen*: it is possible, indeed, that we have here an adaptation due to *hus* 'house' (so Fowler, *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, s.v. 'caboose'). It seems more probable, however, that the *-use* is the Romance suffix: the change of suffix may have been made by Romance speakers, or in polyglot intercourse on shipboard, or even in purely Germanic territory.

Kabacke 'tumble-down shanty, bad inn' occurs in Northern Germany since the seventeenth century. Hirt-Weigand see in it a loan from Russian *kabák*, attested in 1710, but Berneker more correctly sees in the (morphologically isolated) Russian word a loan from the German. Hildebrand in Grimm's *Dictionary* rightly connects it with *Kabane*, *Kabuse* and compares Fr. *cabaret* for the meaning, but he does not explain the form. It is due to *Baracke* (since 1665, from French). Both *Baracke* and *Kabacke* are mementos of the Thirty Years' War.

Kabutte, *Kabuttge*, LG. 'Rumpelkammer, Gefängnis' is due primarily to *Butte* 'barrel, vat, box, basket for carrying,' secondarily, perhaps, to some form of *Küttchen* 'Gefängnis,' *kutten* 'Arrest haben' (from which latter group H. Schröder derives our word by infixation).

Kabuffe 'kammer, schlechtes Zimmer, elendes Haus' is widespread in Low German and Dutch. It is a distortion of *Kabine* under the influence of *Kuffe* 'kleines, schlechtes Haus'; Schiller-Lübben quote for MLG. *brandeweins kuffen*, *hurenkuffen*: in the latter meaning *Puff* (perhaps, however, only an abstraction from *Kabuff*) is current in Leipzig (Albrecht). Secondary meanings are *Kabuff(e)* 'old, worn-out horse' and *Kabüff* 'old hat'; cf. MLG. *kuff(e)*, *küff(e)* also 'old hat.'

Kamuff, in North German for 'elende Wohnung, elende Hütte' is probably a further distortion of the preceding word, due to *Muff*

'modriger, dumpfiger, nicht ausgesprochen fauliger Geruch; Moder, Schimmel,' adj. *muffig*. The more usual and widespread meaning of *Kamuff*, *Kamuffel* is 'dummer Kerl,' and is due to *Kamel* and *Muff* 'verdrossener, mürrischer Mensch' (Wood, 181).

A smaller group very close to that of *Kabine* is that of the Latin *cavaedium*, which gave German *Cavate Kaffata*, *Kaffete* (since the thirteenth century) 'stone archway round the choir of a cathedral' (so in Mayence and Erfurt); *Kaffete*, *Cavete* (1723) 'cell or cabinet off a larger room,' *Kaffeta* (Thuringia) 'arbor or loggia covered with foliage' (*D. Wb.*, V, 21, 372). LG. *Kafitke* is a diminutive of this; *Kaficke* 'schlechte Hütte, elendes Zimmer' is an attempt at interpretation, for *Ficke* means 'pocket.' *Kaweiche* 'Stubchen, Häuschen'; *Keiche* 'schlechtes, finsternes Gemach, Loch' (Schröder, *Streckf.*, 41, as example of infixation).

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